2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

during the busiest parts of the agricultural cycle are considered a good number. The relations between employer and employee are generally characterized by a spirit of mutual cooperation as well as by a recognition of equality of status. The employer usually works side by side with his workers, addressing them in *tú* if they are his own age and in *Vd.* if they are older. In most cases a *peón* works for another only if he receives good treatment, and frequently feels that by working he is conferring a favor upon the employer. It is common for a laborer to quit a job if the employer is too imperious, demanding, or vigilant. Even in Cuernavaca, Tepoztecan workers have a reputation of being "too independent" and sensitive to slights.

There are few full-time domestic servants in Tepoztlán. Women may be hired to assist in households during fiestas, at the birth of a child, or when the mother is seriously ill. Several well-to-do families hire a laundress regularly. The absence of a servant class is in striking contrast with European rural villages and is evidence of the essential classlessness of Tepoztecan society. When domestic help is needed, it is common to call upon relatives and friends. There is a reluctance to hire maid-servants because it reduces the privacy of the home. When it is unavoidable, servants are sought from among the other villages of the municipio rather than within Tepoztlán itself. Conversely, women consider it humiliating to be servants. Orphans or the daughters of the very poorest families seek such employment, and they prefer to work in Cuernavaca or Mexico City rather than in their own village.

EDUCATION

Less than twenty years ago the distinction between the *cultos* (educated) and the *ignorantes* (ignorant) was based on the ability to read and write. With the spread of education this no longer holds. The graduates of the local school and even of the secondary schools are no longer considered *cultos*. The status of *culto* is now applied primarily to lawyers, doctors, and dentists, who live in the city, and to a few local residents who dress in city clothes, write a good letter, run a typewriter, use big or unusual words, and are intelligent and well informed. A *culto* does not necessarily have to be citified or schooled in modern ways, for one of the best known *cultos* is an old candlemaker famous for his study of Náhuatl and for his skill in speaking that ancient language. *Cultos* generally receive respect and admiration, although they are not above criticism if they have undesirable personality traits. For example, one of Redfield's principal informants was described by many of my informants as a man who was *culto* but who was also *chiflado* (lightheaded).

POLITICS

The *políticos* are the local leaders who are active in politics, and as such have a special status in the village. They have many "friends" and *compadres*, and have influence with local and state officials. They generally know how to talk well, and often act as representatives for the more retiring and humble villagers in their dealings with state or federal agencies.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Independence, self-reliance, and a strong sense of privacy are among the cherished values of Tepoztecan family life. Relations with the extended family are limited; there is a reticence in borrowing and calling upon others for help and, by the same token, reticence in giving help. Yet, in times of emergency a Tepoztecan turns most often to relatives, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, godparents, and *compadres*. Favors are carefully remembered and usually returned. There are no formal councils of the extended family, but relatives are generally well informed about one another and there is much gossip and unsolicited advice. Visiting among relatives is infrequent and for the most part is limited to special occasions, such as the annual barrio fiesta, illness, births, weddings, and deaths.

THE FAMILY AND THE HOUSE SITE

There are 662 occupied house sites in the village. Most sites contain a single house but some have two, three, and four. The number of persons per house site ranges from 1 (45 cases) to 17 (1 case). The distribution of persons per house site is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Distribution of Persons per House Site.

No. of Persons	No. of House Sites
1	45
2	82
3	76
4	76
5	68
6	80
7	78
8	60
9	55
10	20
11	10
12	7
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	0
17	1
Total	662

Smaller households predominate over larger ones, reflecting the fact that most households consist of the biological family. The large number of house sites occupied by a single individual is very striking for this peasant community. It reflects the weakness of the extended family and reminds us of conditions in the urban centers.

An analysis of the kinship composition of each of the house sites is shown in Table 11.

It can be seen from Table 11 that over seventy per cent of all house sites are occupied by the biological family. When a niece or nephew lives with the family, it is almost always because the child was orphaned or abandoned. Such a child

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

592

TABLE 11. Kinship Composition by Households, 1943.

Type of Composition		House Sites
I	Simple biological family with variations	
	a) Husband, wife, and unmarried children	421
	b) Type I-a and niece or nephew	12
	c) Type I-a and brother or sister of one of the spouses	24
	Total	457
II	The biological family with married children	
	a) Husband, wife, unmarried children, and one married son and his family	56
	b) Husband, wife, unmarried children, and one married daughter and her family	26
	c) Husband, wife, unmarried children, and married sons or daughters and their families	8
	Total	90
III	Married siblings with their families	
	a) Two married brothers and their families	3
	b) Two married sisters and their families	5
	c) Married brother and sister and their families	6
	Total	14
IV	Unrelated families	5
V	Persons living alone	45
VI	Miscellaneous composition	51
	Total	662

[736] may be taken in by the godparents, but living with an aunt or uncle is generally preferred. Usually an unwed or widowed brother or sister lives with a married sibling when the parents are no longer alive.

Approximately sixteen per cent of the house sites are occupied by multiple families, some of which are extended families. When a young married son lives with his [596] parents as an *hijo de familia*, he continues to work for his father and is subject to his authority. In such cases there is a single fireplace with the daughter-in-law working under the supervision of the mother-in-law. This is clearly the older pattern of

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

predominance of patrilocal residence. Eighteen of the outsiders married to Tepoztecans came from the surrounding villages within the municipio of Tepoztlán; forty came from rural regions of nearby states such as Guerrero, Puebla, and Mexico, D.F. The relatively few marriages between Tepoztecans and other villages within the municipio are probably due to the attitudes of superiority of Tepoztecans.

Forty-two per cent of the marriages in the village are between members of the same barrio. (See Table 15.) This is a much higher proportion than might be

TABLE 15. Inter- and Intra-Barrio and Village Marriages, 1944.

Barrio	Men Married to Women of Other Barrios	Men Married to Women of Other Villages or Towns	Women Married to Men of Other Barrios	Women Married to Men of Other Villages or Towns	Intra-Barrio Marriages	Couples From Other Barrios or Villages	Total
Santo Domingo	39	11	13	10	70	4	147
La Santísima	44	6	19	6	38	20	133
San Sebastián	12	4	4	1	10	8	39
San Pedro	2	2	2	..	4	1	11
San Miguel	33	7	10	4	52	21	127
Santa Cruz (large)	26	2	7	1	26	3	65
Santa Cruz (small)	15	2	1	..	3	4	25
Los Reyes	15	4	6	1	10	2	38
Total	186	38	62	23	213	63	585

inferred from Redfield's statement on this point in 1926-27. As might be expected, the highest percentage of intra-barrio marriages occurs in the larger barrios where there is a wider choice of eligible mates. The relatively high incidence of intra-barrio marriage means that one's affinal relatives are within one's own barrio. Since visiting and other social activities tend to follow kinship lines, this type of marriage strengthens the barrio as a social unit.

Inter-barrio marriages constitute approximately 49 per cent of all marriages. By far the greater number are cases in which the women leave their own barrio and go to live in the barrio of their husband, again reflecting the preference for patrilocal residence. However, the fact that 85 cases (representing 16 per cent of all couples) were those in which the men went to live in the barrio of their wives, is significant. Tepoztecans speak with deprecation of matrilocal residence. When a young man goes to live with his wife's people after marriage, it is said, "se regaló como perro" (he was given away like a dog). Another common expression is, "se fué como 'nuero'" (he went as a male daughter-in-law). Matrilocal residence occurs for the most part in the case of poor orphans or in the case of younger men marrying older and more dominating women.

It can be seen in Table 15 that most intermarriages are between the large ad-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

In anger Tepoztecans frequently throw stones at an offending person or animal. If a man is not pleased with his food he may throw it to the ground. Some women throw household objects in a fit of temper. Small children express rage in temper tantrums; and fighting among children, particularly boys, sometimes occurs in the absence of adults. Assault and murder also occur from time to time.

Fighting or attack is rarely the result of a direct challenge but may occur if two enemies meet when drunk or when one is ambushed by another. There is no tradition of giving warning or a "sporting chance"; rather, the victim is generally taken unaware, preferably under cover of darkness. A man may be beaten, shot, or fiercely slashed with a machete. Often the aggressor hits and runs without pausing to ascertain the condition of the victim. Several men, principally *políticos*, bear scars from such attacks. Men in positions of wealth, power, or authority habitually carry a gun for protection and prefer not to venture out at night. The authorities generally are unable to apprehend the culprit, who flees the village for a time.

Viewed historically, revolutions, civil wars, and political upheavals have offered a major outlet for direct aggression. It must be noted, however, that militarism and the glorification of the soldier are not Tepoztecan ideals. The history of the Revolution of 1910-20 in Tepoztlán reveals much bickering and feuds and a great deal of killing for reasons of envy and the seeking of power. Tepoztecan generals and other leaders were killed by jealous rivals within their own ranks as much as in battle.

How do Tepoztecans seek security in this environment? Security is sought first and foremost through the economic independence of the biological family. Work, industry, and thrift, for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals, are the highest, most enduring values in Tepoztlán. To be able to provide the family with food, clothing, and shelter is the only real assurance against want or interference. To many, hard work becomes an end in itself. So long as a man devotes his time and powers to work, he feels secure and blameless; he judges his worth by the amount of his labors, rather than by what he produces. Thus, Tepoztecans frequently say that all is well even though they eat only *tortilla con sal*.

The absolute emphasis upon the need to work and the brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work have far-reaching effects on his personality and his relations with others. One of these effects is to make him an individualist with faith in his own power alone and with reluctance to seek or give economic aid, to borrow or lend, or to cooperate with others in public and private enterprises.

On the other hand, economic independence and individualism do not preclude certain loyalties, identifications, and reciprocities with others, but rather make these imperative for survival. Loyalty and cooperation within the biological family is a necessary adjunct to individual independence. Without a family to back him up, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlán. The fate of lone widows and of orphaned or fatherless children is generally a sad one, even when the extended family offers help. Although the role of the extended family in protect-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

mother proudly displayed a pillowcase she had embroidered with the words, "Sleep, my love" for her eighteen-year-old son. But mothers experience some difficulty in controlling the eldest son, who frequently imitates his father in demanding much service from the women in the family and in ordering his younger siblings about. The oldest son is expected to take the place of the father upon the latter's death, and to support his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters. When this occurs, there is sometimes an extended struggle between the mother and the son for authority as head of the family. Widows who inherited their husband's property are in a better position to maintain authority and are usually careful to hold on to the property until death, for fear of losing all control of their sons. Propertyless widows, whose sons work as peons to support the family, usually permit the sons to rule over their brothers and sisters and over their mothers as well. Quarrels between mothers and sons arising out of the question of authority and inheritance are not infrequent; many mothers voice apprehension as to the treatment they may expect from their sons in their old age. There are several instances in which married sons do nothing to help support an old widowed mother or even mistreat her. On the other hand, there are several cases in the village in which an adult son, married or unmarried, continues to live with the mother and to work for her, sometimes well into his thirties, before receiving a share of his inheritance.

Many widows do not remarry because "the children get angry." Grown children tend to resent sharing the mother with a stranger and fear that they will be displaced. Eldest sons are known to be especially angered or "jealous," because they will no longer be the male head of the family. One widow said her eighteen year-old son threatened to beat her if she remarried. Some women express a sense of shame in taking another husband after their children are grown. The presence of grown children also act as a deterrent to widows having lovers.

The relations of mothers and daughters are usually very close. Not only does the mother teach the girl the household skills she knows, but they work side by side in the home until the daughter's marriage. The daughter gradually assumes the mother's role in the home and generally identifies with her. The mother's attitude toward her work, toward bearing children, and toward men and marriage becomes the girl's attitude. In homes in which the mother is dissatisfied or unhappy with her husband, the daughters are apt to take a negative attitude toward men and marriage.

With few exceptions, mothers press their daughters into service as early as possible and use them for all types of errands and chores; indeed, the way in which Tepoztecan households function makes it almost impossible for the mother to get along without help. The custom of having daughters work in the home is deeply ingrained in Tepoztlán, although less so than in the smaller surrounding villages. Many mothers resent the fact that the school takes away the girls for the major part of the day. Mothers frequently absent their daughters from school or withdraw them permanently as soon as the husband permits. Girls under the age of thirteen usually prefer to be in school and may resist the mother's attempt to keep them

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The *sacamisa* is supposed to occur forty days after the baptism. It frequently takes place a week or two later because the godparents may not keep track of the time, or one of the families involved may lack the necessary funds for the ceremony. When the godparents are ready, they appear at the house of their godchild with a tray containing the baptismal clothes, a white silk gown, a set of underclothes, a long robe, a hat, a pair of socks, and perhaps a pair of shoes. Sometimes these clothes are not presented until the child is in church, where he is then dressed.

The next day at 5:00 A.M., the parents, parents-in-law, and godparents meet at the church. The child is carried by the father or grandmother since the mother is considered too weak. The priest prays over the mother and child and throws holy water on them. During the Mass the mother is seated and holds the child in one arm and a candle in her other hand. When the party leaves the church, each goes home without taking any more formal leave of one another than saying "hasta luego." At noon the godparents are visited by their *compadres* and some relatives of the latter, who bring a gift of *mole* with turkey, rice, macaroni, beans, a bottle of wine, and a package of cigarettes. They leave the gift and return home. Later in the afternoon, if the godparents wish, they may bring musicians and friends to their *compadres'* house for a celebration. The *compadres* are obliged to serve food and drinks to all who come, and the dancing which follows may continue until about 8:00 P.M. This celebration involves considerable expense, and most families are able to fulfill only a minimum of the obligations.

It is said that a boy who is not taken to *sacamisa* will be refused when he asks for the hand of a girl in marriage, and that a girl who is not taken to *sacamisa* will elope. Some of the younger women who leave their homes before the forty-day period of rest forfeit the right to *sacamisa*. In one case, an educated woman who no longer observed the forty-day period received a tray of clothing from her child's godmother at the time of *sacamisa* and was forced to refuse the gift. She returned it with a suitable gift of her own to placate the godmother. The baby's mother, in telling the story, added that the godmother knew very well that there would be no *sacamisa* and sent the clothing just to cause embarrassment.

Each child in Tepoztlán has godparents of baptism to insure a guardian for him in case of the death of either of the parents. It is the obligation of the godparents to inquire periodically about the welfare of their godchild and to see that the child is sent to school. Very few godparents in Tepoztlán take a more active interest in their godchildren. The godparents may not refuse to take in their orphaned godchildren, but many take them only temporarily until other arrangements can be made for them. Most orphaned children are cared for by relatives rather than godparents. There are stories of godparents abusing and exploiting their godchildren, as well as stories of kind and affectionate treatment.

The naming of children follows the Catholic custom of selecting a name from the list of saints' names on the day of birth. A *sobrenombre*, or an additional name, is selected either from the saints' list on the day of baptism or at will, depending upon the desire of the father or the godparents. The *sobrenombre* is the name by